

## Message Text

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44

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ARA-06 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-04 INR-07 L-03

ACDA-05 NSAE-00 PA-01 SS-15 PRS-01 SP-02 USIA-06

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FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6569

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

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AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY ROME

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

USMISSION USBERLIN

AMCONSUL BORDEAUX

AMCONSUL LYON

AMCONSUL MARSEILLE

AMCONSUL MARTINIQUE

AMCONSUL NICE

AMCONSUL STRASBOURG

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, FR

SUBJ: FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY VIEWS OF FRENCH FOREIGN POLICY

SUMMARY: FRANCE NOUVELLE, THE PCF'S PRESTIGIOUS WEEKLY THEORETICAL REVIEW, PUBLISHED JANUARY 5 A SELF-CONFIDENT ANALYSIS OF FOREIGN POLICY TRENDS AFFECTING FRANCE. INFORMAL EMBASSY TRANSLATION AND COMMENT FOLLOW. END SUMMARY.

1. THE PCF "ACCEPTS" THE FRUITS OF DETENTE: AFTER NOTING THAT A "CHARACTERISTIC ELEMENT" OF THE MODERN FRENCH SITUATION IS THE EXISTENCE OF THE COMMON PROGRAM, THE WRITE (GEORGES GIRARD) STATES THAT "THIS WAS MADE POSSIBLE BY AN APPRECIABLE MODIFICATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT. THE COMMON PROGRAM WOULD HAVE BEEN IMPOSSIBLE AT THE TIME OF THE COLD WAR; THINGS WERE NO BETTER WHEN THE COUNTRIES WERE GETTING TANGLED INTO COLONIAL WARS.....THE EXISTENCE AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALISM IN THE WORLD, THE PROGRESS OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE, THE IMMENSE VICTORIES OF THE MOVEMENT(S) OF NATIONAL LIBERATION...." ARE AMONG THE FACTORS CITED AS MITIGATING AGAINST A POLICY OF CLASS COLLABORATION AND FOR "A PROCESS OF RAPPROCHEMENT OF THE PARTIES OF THE LEFT IN FRANCE."

2. CAPITALIST VS. COMMUNIST: "AS IT SLIDES INTO THE GENERALIZED GLOBAL CRISIS, MONOPOLIST STATE CAPITAL CREATES THE OBJECTIVE CONDITIONS OF ITS REPLACEMENT." AT THE SAME TIME, THE "COMMUNITY OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES" IS GROWING IN ECONOMIC POWER: THESE COUNTRIES, WHICH PRODUCED ONLY 3 PERCENT OF THE WORLD'S TOTAL PRODUCTION IN 1917 TODAY ARE NEAR THE 40 PERCENT MARK. "IN 1974", THE ARTICLE GOES ON TO SAY, "THE USSR SURPASSED THE US IN PRODUCTION OF COAL, STEEL, CEMENT AND OIL" (WHEAT IS NOT MENTIONED).

3. THE USG AND PROSPECTS FOR A UNITED LEFT VICTORY:  
HOW WILL THE "IMPERIALIST POWERS" REACT TO THE COMING OF  
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SOCIALISM IN FRANCE? THE ARTICLE APPEARS TO RULE OUT A MILITARY INTERVENTION: "EVEN IN CUBA, UNDER THE NOSE OF UNCLE SAM, AMERICAN IMPERIALISM TAKES NO RISKS AFTER THE HUMILIATING DEFEAT OF THE BAY OF PIGS. EVEN IN ANGOLA, FROM NOW ON IT WILL BE DIFFICULT TO OPENLY SUPPORT PUPPET GOVERNMENTS. IN ASSERTING ITS COMPLICITY WITH SOUTH AFRICA, THE US IS TAKING THE RISK OF CUTTING ITSELF OFF FROM ALL THE AFRICAN COUNTRIES, INCLUDING

THOSE WHICH IT STILL INFLUENCES, WHILE THE SOVIET UNION  
WILL COME OUT OF THE SITUATION ENHANCED BY THE SOLIDARITY  
WHICH IT GIVES TO A JUST CAUSE." ECONOMIC PRESSURE,  
WHICH THE ARTICLE ASSUMES WOULD BE AN IMPORTANT US  
MEASURE, IS CONSIDERED TO BE MARGINALLY EFFECTIVE:  
"IMPERIALISM NO LONGER HAS THE MONOPOLY OF WORLD TRADE...  
EUROPEAN ECONOMIC INTEGRATION IS SUCH, TODAY, THAT IT  
IS DIFFICULT TO SEE HOW THE FRG, FOR EXAMPLE, COULD PUT  
PRESSURE ON A SOVEREIGN FRANCE WITHOUT COUNTING WHAT THE  
COSTS TO ITS FOREIGN TRADE WOULD BE IN RETURN."

COMMENT: THE ARTICLE IS REMARKABLE FOR A TONE OF  
SELF-CONFIDENCE IN THE FACE OF PERCEIVED US INABILITY  
TO SERIOUSLY AFFECT THE RESULTS OF A PRESUMED LEFT  
VICTORY IN FRANCE. BUT MORE UNUSUAL STILL IS THE ACCEP-  
TANCE OF THE FRUITS OF DETENTE: TO ARGUE THAT THE COMMON  
PROGRAM IS IN PART THE RESULT OF DETENTE IS TO DEMON-  
STRATE A KIND OF MATURITY WHICH MUST SURELY BE MAKING  
FRENCH STALINISTS ROLL OVER IN THEIR TOMBS. SOME FRENCH-  
MEN WILL TAKE THE ARTICLE AS FURTHER PROOF THAT THE  
PCF'S CURRENT ATTEMPT TO PORTRAY ITSELF AS RESPONSIBLE  
AND RESPONSIVE IS MOVING INTO HIGH GEAR.

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## Message Attributes

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**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
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